

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JANUARY 16, 1921.

Prohibition's Birthday Is Both Wet and Dry; With Liquor in Ample Quantity for the Year

End of First Dry Year Reveals Paradoxical Conditions With Sponsors and Opponents of Lusty Eighteenth Amendment Gratified, Yet Disappointed, at Working of National Anti-Liquor Law

THE Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, providing for national prohibition, went into effect just one year ago to-day. The following article summarizes the results of the first year under the amendment, from the official records in Washington. The article also describes the general conditions throughout the country, and it includes what the protagonists of prohibition have to say about the present and the future.

NEW YORK HERALD BUREAU.
WASHINGTON, D. C., JAN. 15.

THE first full year of national prohibition, completed to-day, finds John Barleycorn alive and kicking. In fact he is kicking so hard that the nation is faced with a live issue that will last for many years to come.

In general the results of the first dry year for the nation are an intriguing and entangling mass of facts, figures and opinions, advanced convincingly from many points of view.

There is one outstanding and generally agreed fact. The United States is not dry. Even the most ardent supporters of prohibition agree that it is not. Prohibition Commissioner John F. Kramer, officially the highest authority and privately a supporter of the law, says that it will never be. At the same time he declares prohibition is here to stay, but with a fight.

Liquor in one form or another can be purchased most everywhere. This is not successfully denied. Any citizen, anywhere, with the price can prove it. Those who think wet say that this proves that prohibition does not prohibit. Those who think dry say that it will and price is the barometer. If the latter contention is right, the end is inevitable. The barometer is going up. The price in some places is \$25 a quart, which to a large percentage of citizenry is already prohibitive.

41,000,000 Proof Gallons Consumed In Year, Not Counting Home Brew

However, there is one outstanding official fact in the record of the first year's operations. In 1920 the American people, or the huddling portion of the people, drank or in some manner consumed approximately 41,000,000 proof gallons of distilled spirits. This is the official total compiled by the Internal Revenue Bureau. It does not include the untold and uncounted gallons of home brew and various and sundry liquors intoxicating to more or less degree that were brewed, distilled or concocted at home or made and peddled by bootleggers.

There is left in officially bonded warehouses a rather imposing quantity of distilled spirits—officially 51,537,201 proof gallons at the end of November—and spirits are still being made. Three distilleries are making whiskey, scores of others are making alcohol. Whiskey, gin, brandy, wine and other beverages are stored in 378 warehouses scattered all over the country, many of them, according to official statement, without adequate protection.

Out of the general conflict of figures, statements and opinions come these conclusions:

The United States is not dry. It will not be for perhaps several years. There is much whiskey and other alcoholic beverages in the land and much obtainable.

Whiskey—particularly good whiskey—is hard to get and too high for the average pocketbook.

Saloons are gone, perhaps forever.

The little ditty:
"Hush, little barroom, don't you cry,
You'll be a drug store by and bye."

has been revised. Many little drug stores have become barrooms. Not in the old sense, but because they are surreptitious drinking places.

Bootlegging and whiskey running have become an industry—an evil industry, if you will—but a rather widespread occupation, and one that brings no contumely in many quarters.

There has ensued a debauchery of bribery, theft and even murder and other high crimes, and illicit transactions, broad or limited in the opinions pro and con.

Moral effect is highly controversial. Some of the staunchest advocates of prohibition, notably Deets Pickett of the Methodist Episcopal Reform Bureau, say that the moral and crime factor is influenced by the international wave of crime following the war.

Rum running that died with the slave traffic has been revived on both coasts and along the borders.

Barroom drinking and the evils that fol-

WILLIAM MARTIN WILLIAMS.
Commissioner of Internal Revenue,
whose figures on liquor consumption
and supply show country's wetness.

lowed in its train have totally disappeared. There is less pay day drunkenness in industry.

Various community compilations by reform organizations show less arrests, insanity, immorality and incarceration for disorderly conduct and similar offenses.

Holdups, shooting and other lawlessness on whiskey running highways, notably the Baltimore and Washington Boulevard, have been due to considerable extent to persons engaged in an illicit business preying upon one another.

Results as Shown by Official Figures of Internal Revenue

Available whiskey at distances from coastlines or border is becoming poor in quality.

Prohibition enforcement is becoming more effective.

There is widespread and largely unchecked home brewing and distilling and much illicit distilling for commercial purposes.

All of these things, while fairly well established, are subject to controversy. Official figures from the Internal Revenue Bureau show these results up to September 1: In all, 17,578 persons were arrested by prohibition enforcement officers. The number does not include State and municipal arrests not reported.

Of this number, 17,708 persons were recommended for prosecution.

There were destroyed 6,839 illicit distilleries.

There were destroyed 7,511 illicit stills of one kind and another.

Several big brewing plants were seized, but without final action as yet.

Six revenue agents have been killed in raids and one in a train wreck. The one in the train wreck and a number of other persons killed as a result of raids and whiskey running holdups are not counted by the enforcement service in the list of casualties.

Property with an appraised value of \$3,562,311 was seized. This included 93,789 gallons of spirits destroyed and 123,494 gallons of spirits placed in storage, mostly in New York and Chicago. It also included automobiles to an approximate value of \$1,000,000 that were used mostly by bootleggers.

Taxes and penalties were assessed against offenders under the constitutional amendment aggregating \$23,340,687. Not all of this has been collected, and some of it never will be, because of inability to pay.

Starting upon its second year of prohibition the United States has in storage in 378 warehouses throughout the country nearly 50,000,000 gallons of distilled spirits, enough to last a considerable spell at the present rate of withdrawal. Total figures for all classes of spirits have been compiled by the Internal Revenue Bureau only up as far as November 1. This compilation shows:

Whiskey	43,213,448
Rum	401,690
Gin	904,236
High wines	2,395
Alcohol	5,783,734
Cologne or neutral spirit	532,570
Brandy	639,130
Total	51,537,201

Like all of the figures cited, these are proof gallons.

Proof gallons are a measure of alcoholic content, and not liquid quantity. A proof gallon is 50 per cent. alcohol and 50 per cent. of other substance. Consequently the actual liquid measure of the quantity remaining, and the quantity withdrawn is considerably more than that shown by the official figures, which are always in proof gallons.

There are three distilleries operating at the present time making whiskey. It is for medicinal use, and the Revenue Bureau objects to calling it beverage spirits, but it is reasonably sure to be imbibed, even if not with hilarious intent.

Because of this manufacture and the fact that scores of distilleries are making industrial alcohol—they are the old line dis-



stilleries—there is an apparent vast discrepancy between the amount we started out with as a dry nation, the amount consumed and the amount now available.

During our first dry year withdrawals from warehouses averaged well over 3,000,000 proof gallons—not liquid gallons—a month. In the heyday of hilarity withdrawals for beverage purposes exceeded this figure many times. It varied according to the imposition of Federal taxes and in 1917 was 196,000,000 gallons.

Under national prohibition the withdrawals in 1920 were:

Month	Gallons
January	2,218,351
February	1,773,122
March	4,036,029
April	3,686,710
May	4,099,465
June	3,520,118
July	4,095,440
August	4,060,344
September	4,376,313
October	4,376,313
November	3,354,108
December	2,139,875
Total	40,996,690

The December figure is an estimate and may be lower because of the shutting down on withdrawals on orders of Commissioner Kramer to bring medicinal stocks to a minimum.

Beginning May 1 the revenue bureau reclassified report on distilled spirits. Detailed figures for May and June last indicate the rate of production. There was made in industrial alcohol plants under the new classification in those two months 18,933,551 gallons of alcohol. During the last fiscal year and up to May 1 distilleries making medicinal whiskey turned out 234,705 gallons of whiskey.

The fact that many distilleries are still operating under permit seems to be generally overlooked. The popular impression of the nation's whiskey ration has been the amount that was on hand when prohibition came. A whole dry year reduced the total quantity of spirits by just about 12,000,000 proof gallons, or 1,000,000 gallons a month. The 50,000,000 gallons remaining will consequently go a long way unless efforts of enforcement officers and the laws to limit production to a greater extent meet with success.

Wets and Dries Preparing Statements That Conflict

Prohibition and other reform leaders in Washington and leaders of the wets are hard at work preparing statements as to the outcome of prohibition over the course of year. These statements are sadly in conflict. The discussion is by no means closed and opposing forces are building their fences for battle not only before the next Congress but before the one to be elected in 1922.

In general, one of the most significant results of the first year has been that the problem, if such it may be called, has been largely one of community settlement, despite the constitutional amendment and the national law. Some communities are reasonably dry, many are very wet, and alcoholic beverages are obtainable at a price in very nearly every one of them.

Spokesmen for the dry forces point out that the greatest achievement is the fact that saloons have gone forever. They have surveyed many communities and sincerely declare the moral and general effect has been good. There is less drunkenness, more happy homes, less crime and better morals, they assert, and they produce figures.

Opponents claim otherwise, and they too have figures. Washington, being the center of political activity, has been considerably and convincingly figured both ways. It is and it is not a better community, de-

During 1920 the American people consumed 41,000,000 proof gallons of distilled spirits.

There is left, in officially bonded warehouses, 51,000,000 gallons—and "spirits" are still being made.

During the year 6,839 illicit distilleries and 7,511 illicit stills were destroyed, and several brewing plants seized.

During the year 93,789 gallons of spirits were destroyed and 123,494 gallons were placed in storage.

Taxes and penalties were assessed against offenders under the constitutional amendment aggregating \$23,340,687.

pending upon whether the figures for drunkenness and crime are prepared by Deets Pickett of the Methodist Episcopal Prohibition and Reform Bureau, a proponent, or by Representative Tinkham, an opponent.

Of all of the other communities in the country, some are more so and some are less so, either way. Proponents say that the terrifying evil influence of the saloon upon American politics is dead. Opponents assert that prohibition has led to a debauchery of bribery, killing and other crimes.

Kramer Blames the Average Citizen for Laxity in Dry Enforcement

Commissioner Kramer holds the view that this generation may not see the full results of prohibition, but "our children will." He holds the view that the law is effective and good and that prohibition will soon be tight. On the popular side of the question he had this comment to offer:

"The trouble with prohibition enforcement has been that the average American citizen has not acquiesced in it and the public press has generally given no indication that it was in favor of the law. Everything has been written and spoken to discount such enforcement and to ridicule the officials charged with carrying out the law."

Deets Pickett said that there was no doubt that enforcement was effective and becoming better. "The work," he said, "has been hard. There is no doubt that half of the force should be fired, but it has many conscientious and sincere workers. Former drinkers and saloon men should not have been hired, but the force is being pruned and Commissioner Kramer is doing great work."

The general results of the first year are perhaps better summarized from the dry side by Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel and legislative superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America, who has been through every stage of the fight. The whiskey runners and those engaged in other illicit transactions have no spokesmen. Mr. Wheeler said:

"The first year of prohibition has revealed what a strangle hold the liquor traffic had on the social, economic and political life of the nation. In the light of these revelations it is little short of a miracle that this organized evil was ever outlawed."

"It takes an individual considerable time to sober up after a long debauch. It takes a nation of more than a hundred millions a proportionately longer time to get on its feet, get the poison out of its system and have normal self-control after a hundred years' debauch."

"The first year, has accumulated evidence that the liquor traffic is the most lawless, corrupt institution in the nation. It has always defied regulative, restrictive and State prohibition legislation. The credulous believed that when prohibition was written into the Constitution it would recognize the organic law of the land. True to its criminal past, it has defied the Constitution of the United States and the laws enacted to make it effective wherever it could bulldoze or corrupt local or Federal officials into giving it protection. Taking advantage of the fact that the habitual user

of alcohol will resort to almost the same methods to secure this narcotic drug that dope fiends do to secure opium, the liquor traffic has encouraged every phase of lawlessness at a time when this was a peculiar menace to the nation.

"After every war there has been a wave of crime. When wages decline and the cost of living is high and there is unemployment there is always additional lawlessness. Taking advantage of this condition, the liquor traffic has tried to fan the flame into a conflagration. In some places they have partly succeeded. In New York, New Jersey and in some other places there has been an organized, systematic effort to bring the enforcement of the prohibition law into disrepute. Federal officers have been corrupted and local public sentiment encouraged to make light of defiance of law."

"Upon sober second thought the people of these centres will realize that they are playing with fire. Permitted violations of the prohibition law will encourage lawlessness all along the line."

Believes Wet or Dry World Rests With the United States

"This first dry year is presenting a new challenge to the friends of democracy. Every successful democracy rests on the cornerstone of intelligence, morality, patriotism and enforcement of law. If a law that tends to encourage these essentials of democracy cannot be enforced when it has been adopted by the orderly processes of government, then democracy is a failure. To take the position that laws only must be enacted which have no opposition means moral degeneration, and the failure of this democracy will be the same as other democracies which have gone to ruin through moral decay."

"Prohibition in the United States is the target for worldwide attack. A determined propaganda is circulated to discredit it. The arguments are strangely inconsistent. They claim it is drastic, destroys personal liberty and property, and that it is a failure. Every one gets all the liquor he wants. The statements kill themselves. The reason for this worldwide wet propaganda is that, if the United States makes good under prohibition the world will follow her example. The United States holds the strategic position to confer a blessing upon humanity that is worldwide."

"Prohibition in the nation, like prohibition in the States, is a growth. No State prohibition law has remained for the form first adopted for any great length of time. When first presented, legislators refused to believe that the liquor interests would resort to all kinds of devices and schemes to evade the law. For this reason the law was enacted on the theory that liquor dealers would have ordinary respect for law. In every State the law had to be strengthened after being first adopted. We will have the same experience in the nation."

"Here are some of the provisions which should be adopted by Congress or by regulations by the department if authorized:

"The importation of whiskey and spirituous liquors into this country should be prohibited. This is a sample of the wet ad-



WAYNE B. WHEELER.
General counsel of the Anti-Saloon
League, who calls the liquor traffic
"most lawless in the nation."

vertisements on imports in London. There is no excuse for importing liquor into this nation as long as we have over 4,000,000 gallons in storage.

"Permits to make whiskey and intoxicating liquors should not be granted until the present supply is below one or two hundred thousand gallons. There are three distilleries now operating."

"Better regulations to control the concentration of liquors and withdrawal of alcohol for non-beverage purposes are manifestly needed. These withdrawals for non-beverage use have increased from 800,000 to 4,000,000 gallons per month."

"Power should be given to the law enforcement department to purchase automobiles and motor boats."

"Jurisdiction should be given to the courts in the Philippines and the islands subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to enforce the Federal prohibition act. The courts in the Philippines have refused thus far to accept jurisdiction, although the Eighteenth Amendment applies in those islands."

"There are certain substitute drugs for alcohol which should be prohibited—for instance, peyote is called dry whiskey, and is a drug used among the Indians. The bill to prohibit it was passed in the House, but has not been acted upon by the Senate."

Five New Organizations Opposing the Amendment

"In addition, five new national liquor organizations have come into the field to oppose the Eighteenth Amendment. The Association Opposed to National Prohibition has its headquarters in New York. It recently boasted that it had \$1,000,000,000 subscribed to see to it that the Eighteenth Amendment should not become operative. The Association Opposed to the Prohibition Amendment has its headquarters in Washington. It boasts that no liquor dealer is eligible, but its programme is as follows, according to its own statement:

"1. To get the Volstead act out of the law.
"2. To permit every State under the concurrent clause to pass its own enforcement act."

"It also states in paragraph 6 of its prospectus: 'If the majority of voters do not favor the law, and if those against it organize so that they may be counted, the law will be repealed and the regulatory power under the prohibition amendment will be left to each State under the concurrent clause.' The acknowledged programme of these two organizations is simply a nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment. The New York organization frankly admits that its purpose is to prevent the Eighteenth Amendment from becoming operative."

"The Washington organization proposes to repeal the Volstead act and thereby allow the wet States to remain wet and the dry States to enact and enforce their own laws. No one can gainsay the fact that this means nullification of national prohibition."

"Notwithstanding the organized opposition to prohibition, it will stand if its friends are alert and active."

"One of the great daily papers of the United States recently said in an editorial:

"The Anti-Saloon League, which organized and led the winning movement for overthrow of the traffic, owed its success to adopting the non-partisan strategy of the liquor interests and beating them at their own game. The policy was effective from the start; booze was driven from towns and counties and from a rapidly growing number of States, and finally, twenty-two years after the league had become a national body, a prohibitory amendment to the Federal Constitution was passed by Congress and adopted by the necessary three-fourths of the States."

"The W. C. T. U. will be an added force in sustaining and enforcing prohibition. The women now have the vote. The woman's home interest makes her naturally a foe to the saloon, which is a home wrecker. If these and other forces that contributed to the securing of prohibition keep their organizations intact and aggressive, national prohibition will not only be sustained, it will be made more effective, and its benefits will be universally recognized in coming years. Within one or two decades the beverage liquor traffic will be in the same position that slavery is to-day. It will be defended by no respectable class of our citizenship."